The Last Column in Constantinople [1]

To the memory of Dr. Annetta Ilieva

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The essence of a monument of memorial importance is generally reduced to its commemoration of events and facts assessed as significant and worthy of commemoration. Such monuments imprint in the consciousness of the generations a lasting memory of deeds, personalities and events. Memorials are usually dedicated to concrete personalities, most frequently rulers, by whose activities and merits a certain event is judged.

The column is a characteristic memorial of the Roman forums. The Romans had the so-called *columnae rostratae* decorated with in-built ship prows in honour of the victors in the sea battles. Later on the enhanced power and supremacy of Rome found their expression in the huge columns, whose shaft was covered from top to bottom with a spiral band of pictorial reliefs and well-known as *columna cochlys* or "historiated" columns. [2]

Following the example of the old capital, Constantinople also erected its memorial columns. Ever since the reign of Constantine the Great (324-337), most emperors had been setting up such columns, which served as visible signs of their rule. [3] These monuments were visible from a great distance outside the city and formed the skyline of the new capital. The tradition of erecting honorific columns and the manufacture of over life-size bronze statues seemed to have died out in Byzantium by the early 7th century. The last monument of this type belonged to the usurper Phokas (602-610) and stood close to the Bronze Tetrapylon, just east of the church of the Holy Forty Martyrs. [4] In the words of Niketas Choniates, the emperor Andronikos I (1183-1185) intended to set up his own effigy in bronze on top of the Anemodoulion, but he was deposed before the end of the project. [5]

After a span of nearly six centuries the tradition was revived once more in a striking monument of the late 13th century: the column of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258-1282). It is also remarkable to the appearance of an over life-size bronze statue. The last statue of such type confirmed to have existed with a certain amount of certitude being

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1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Colloquim held at the Ivan Dujcev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 4-6 June 1997. I wish to thank Professor Cyril MANGO for reading the text and offering helpful comments.

2 G. BECATTI, *La colona coclide istoriata,* Roma 1960, pp. 83-204.

3 See R. JANIN, *Constantinople Byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique,* 2 ed., Paris 1964, p. 73-86 (hereafter, cited as JANIN, *CP byz.*[2]); W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls,* Tübingen 1977, pp. 52-55 (hereafter, MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon*).

4 C. MANGO, *The Column of Justinian and his successors,* in: idem, *Studies on Constantinople,* Aldershot, Variorum, 1993, (hereafter, MANGO, *Studies*), # X, 15: the column was completed in 609, but it is not clear whether Phokas' statue was placed on it; Cf. C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV[e]-VII[e] siècles),* Paris 1985, p. 31.

5 *Niketas Choniates, Historia,* ed. J. L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin - New York 1975, 332. 35-40 (hereafter, *Choniates*).

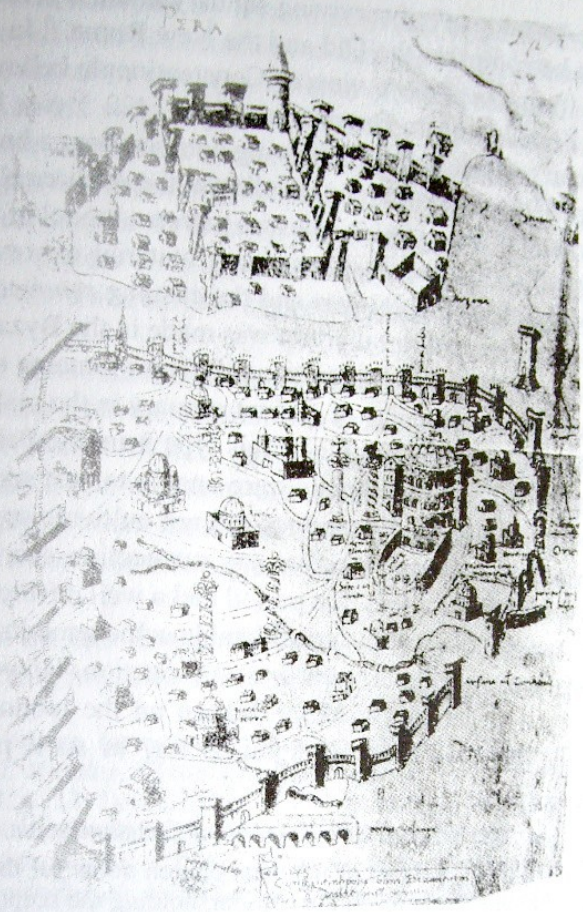

Fig.1 A view of Constantinople

the one of Niketas (a cousin of the emperor Heraklios), erected atop the Tetrakionion in the Forum of Constantine. [6] Unfortunately, there are no traces of this monument survives and our knowledge of this monument is derived solely from the histories of Pachymeres and Gregoras, [7] as well as from the accounts of travellers. [8] It seems that this column could have

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[6] Alice-Mary TALBOT, *The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,* DOP 47 (1993) 259 (hereafter, A-M TALBOT, *The Restoration*); C. MANGO, *Epigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance,* in: idem, Studies, # IX, 30.

[7] *Georgius Pachymeres, De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim,* Bonn ed. 1835, II, 234. 16-22 (hereafter, *Pachymeres,* Bonn ed.), describes the monument in a passage of the earthquake of 1296. The English translation that follows is by C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents,* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1972, pp. 245-6 (hereafter, MANGO, *Art*): "The church of All Saints which had stood until that time in good condition suffered grievous damage, namely the collapse of its roof, both that part that was over bema and the part that was in the middle. And likewise the bronze statue of Archangel that is there - the one that is set up on a column - like pedestal and represents the Emperor Michael at the Archangel's feet, offering to him the City which he holds [in his hands] and commending it to his protection - this statue, I say, lost its head and the City slipped out of the emperor's hands, and both fell to the ground". *Nikephoros Gregoras, Byzantina historia,* Bonn ed. 1829-55, I, 202. 8-13, also mentioned the monument in connection with the same earthquake. (hereafter, *Gregoras,* Bonn ed.).

[8] See, for example the anonymous Armenian pilgrim of the (14th-15th c.): "And outside stood a high column, on top of which is elevated, in bronze, the angel Gabriel, and Constantine the king". -

been mentioned in the "catalogue" of surviving statuary at the Byzantine capital by Manuel Chrysoloras, in which he compares the Old and the New Rome. [9] In addition there exists a sketch of the column, from a bird's-eye view of Constantinople believed to have been made by the Florentine traveller Cristoforo Buondelmonti ca. 1422 [10] (see Fig. I). On the basis of the descriptions, one can reconstruct the following composition: a bronze group on top of a high column featuring Michael Palaiologos kneeling at the Archangel Michael's feet (something like *proskynêsis)* and offering to his celestial patron a model of Constantinople held in his hands. [11] Undoubtedly, this composition was a material expression of the successful recovery of the city by Michael Palaiologos and the ensuing *renovatio*.

The question whether the sculptural group was made in the Byzantine capital in the late 13th century or was simply fabricated from re-used pieces remains open. On the one hand, one could possibly look for an influence of ancient statuary in the making of that monument. However, we do not know another example of this type from the Palaiologan period. There is reason to believe that the Byzantine artists were unable to cast such statue. Then it is not surprising, if we remember that the Byzantines did not cultivate sculpture in the round. [12] On the other hand, we may only ask whether any connection can be made with Western Europe considering the fact that Italy in that period had a well developed casting technology of bronze statues which could boast some considerable achievements. [13] I do not wish to rule out the possibility that there may have been some connection. However, I think that a statue of the winged *Nike* (with an irrefutable influence on the iconography of angels), had remade to resemble Archangel. There is nothing new in such practice concerning the

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S. Brock, *A Medieval Armenian Piligrim's Description of Constantinople,* REArm n.s. 4 (1967) 87.

Zosima the Deacon (1419-1422): "In front of the great church doors [of the Holy Apostles] stands a very high column. A terrible angel stands on the column, holding the scepter of Constantinople in its hand. Emperor Constantine stands opposite it, holding Constantinople in his hands and offering it to the protection of this angel" - G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* Washington, D. C. 1984, pp. 184-187 (hereafter, Majeska, *Russian Travelers*).

C. Buondelmonti (1414-1422): "Apud denique eclesiam sanctorium Apostolorum quinta insultat columpna; quo in capite Angelus eneus est, et Constantinus genuflexus hanc urbem in manu sua offert". G. Gerola, *La veduta di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti,* SBN 3 (1931) 275 (hereafter, Gerola, *La veduta*).

[9] This was actually a letter addressed to John Palaeologos (later the Emperor John VIII), which Chrysoloras wrote from Rome (1411). Text in PG 156, col. 45D: "... and another [column] to the right of the church of the Apostles...".

[10] Gerola, *La veduta,* between 252-3. Only the drawing from Venice - *Cod. Marc.* XIV. 25 shows a figure atop the column. One would assume that the figures were still in their places when Buondelmonti saw the monument; see also C. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge,* Paris 1882, vol. III, frontispiece; A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople,* London 1899, frontispiece; Th. Thomov, *New information about Cristoforo Buondelmonti's drawings of Constantinople,* Byzantion 66, 2 (1996) 431-453.

[11] A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art Byzantin,* Paris 1936, p. 111 (hereafter, Grabar, *L'empereur*); cf. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance: Etude sur l'art de Constantinople,* Paris 1923, p. 131. The examples of proskynêsis have been assembled and analysed by I. Spatharakis, *The Proskynesis in Byzantine Art,* Bulletin Antieke Beschaving 49 (1974) 190-205.

[12] C. Mango, *Antique Statuary and Byzantine Beholder,* DOP 17 (1963) 71 (hereafter, Mango, *AS*).

[13] In confirmation of this A-M Talbot, *The Restoration,* 259 assumed that: "... original model could have been sculpte by a Greek, who then called on the expertise of a Western craftsman to produce the finished bronze version. Or a team of Western sculptors and bronzecasters might have been invited by the emperor to combine their efforts".

Byzantine capital. It was inherited by Byzantine artists from their Antique predecessors, who sometimes employed it. In confirmation of this, we must remember the fact that in 328 Constantine I set upon top of his porphyry column of the Forum a great bronze statue representing Apollo-Helios as his own effigy, and Justinian I reused an older statue for his monument. [14] All sources are unanimous on the location of the column: it was situated near the Church of the Holy Apostles and nearby Church of All Saints. [15] Among them the descriptions of Chrysoloras and Zosima the Deacon are most precise. The former adds that the column was to the right of the Holy Apostles, and the latter specifies that it was in front of the great church doors, thus suggesting that the monument dominated the atrium. [16]

The exact date of its erection could may have never be known, but we can narrow it down somewhat. It is clear, that the column was erected before the earthquake of 1296. The poem, which prefaced Michael VIII's *typikon* for the monastery of St. Michael on Mt. Auxentios, dated ca. 1280, also mentions our column. [17] Hence, it could not have been set up in the 1274-1280 period, when the Emperor was rather unpopular for his church policy. Therefore, its erection must have taken place either in 1261 or somewhere between 1261-1274. [18]

This monument of the late Roman type showed a significant difference from the preceding tradition of erecting honorific columns. There were neither spiraling upward reliefs

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[14] On Constantine's statue see, for example *Chronicon Paschale,* Bonn ed. 1832, I, 528 (hereafter, *Chron. Pasch.,* Bonn ed.); *Malalas, Chronographia,* Bonn ed. 1831, 320 (hereafter, *Malalas,* Bonn ed.); also MANGO, *AS,* 57, n. 13; JANIN, *CP byz.*[2], 77-80; MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon,* 255-57. On Justinian's statue see, for example *Malalas,* Bonn ed., 492 in connection with the re-use of a statue of Arkadios *(sic)* by Justinian; JANIN, *CP byz.*[2], 74-76; MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon,* 248-49; P. WILLIAMS LEHMANN, *Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider,* Art Bulletin 41 (1959) 39-57; and the letter from C. MANGO with LEMANN's reply, ibid., 351-58; G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 300 à 451,* Paris 1974, pp. 38-39 (hereafter, DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale*); As C. MANGO points out, *Justinian's equestrian statue,* in: idem, *Studies,* # XI, 8 the bronze statue appears to have been re-modelled from one of Theodosios I or II. For this view see also R. GUILLAND, *Περὶ τὴν Βασίλειον Τάξιν Κωνσταντίνου Ζτοῦ Πορφυρογεννίτον. Ἡ Χάλκη καὶ τὰ πέριξ αντῆς. Ὁ Αὐγουστεών,* Ἐπετ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ. 18 (1948) 153-161; J. BARKER, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire,* Madison, Wis., 1966, pp. 290-2; J. KOLLWITZ, *Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit,* Berlin 1941, pp. 12-14.

[15] On the Church of the All Saints, see G. DOWNEY, *The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,* DOP 9-10 (1955-56) 302.

[16] MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers,* Commentaries § 32, 306; MANGO, *Studies,* # X, 12, states that "Michael's monument could have been placed atop the vacant column of the Deuteron, that of Justin II". Nevertheless, there is a slight topographical difficulty about the column's exact situation. If we take for granted Chrysoloras' statement, it follows that the monument stood on one's right as one left the Holy Apostles. We know from literary evidence (cf. note 15, above), that the Church of All Saints was alongside and to the north-east of the Holy Apostles. If we take into consideration that fact, we can assume that the monument was in front of both Churches. Contrary, if the column was near the atrium of the Holy Apostles, as states Zosima the Deacon, it could not also have been in front of the Church of All Saints. The tentative conclusion to be drawn from this, is that Zosima makes mistake in his localization. I owe the reference about the Russian pilgrim to a kind communication of Prof. C MANGO.

[17] A-M TALBOT, *The Restoration,* 258 esp. n 108 assumed that "the column has been constructed before 1280".

[18] MANGO, *AS,* 71, n. 96 says that "Eighty years later [after Andronikos I (1183-85)] a group of sculpture...was set up by Michael VIII", which corresponds to 1262, but I do not know the reasons for his dating.

to feature the Emperor's heroic deeds, nor edifice of the Emperor upright, nor of a triumphant Emperor on horseback, but an Emperor kneeling before his celestial patron and leader of the Heavenly Host. In other words, the composition was focused on the Archangel, rather than on the Emperor. Before going any farther it might be as well as to ask: who was St. Michael? The roots of the cult for archangels should be sought in the Early Christian epoch. [19] In the East (especially in Western Asia Minor), Michael was venerated as wondrous healer and had several cult centres. The most famous of them was that at Chonai (Colossae) in Phrygia, with the miracles performed there by Michael, and Germia for its hea-ling with "holy waters". Apparently in the 4th century the cult of Michael was transferred from Asia Minor to Constantinople. [20] The earliest reference to the dedication of a church to an angel is to be found in Sozomenos' *Ecclesiastical History*. He stated that Constantine the Great erected a church called *Michaeleion*, not far from Constantinople. [21] The reason of the dedication was that the archangel Michael was believed to have appeared there. According to R. JANIN, in the 6th century there was one dozen sanctuaries in the Byzantine capital dedica-ted to the archangel. In the second half of the 9th century their number considerably grew up, especially under Basil I. There were at least fifteen churches of this kind in the capital and probably five monasteries, most of them very impressive, in the suburbs. [22] The military expansion of the Empire undoubtedly influenced the establishment of the cult. From that century onward Michael was especially venerated as the *archistrategos* or *taxiarchos* of the Heavenly Host, who brought his troops to the aid of the emperor. [23] His fame as a patron of the civic and church authority contributed to the spreading of the cult. It must be remembered that *Michael* from the 9th to the 13th century was a popular imperial name. For the Byzantine Emperor Archangel Michael became both a military patron, who "armed him for struggle against the Barbarians", and a defender of the capital from infidel foes. [24] The Archangel was increasingly depicted in full armour, with a sword in his hand. It is known that in the 12th century there was a mosaic image of

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[19] On the cult of the archangels, see: F. CABROL, *Dictionaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris 1907, t. I (2), col. 2111-2154 (hereafter, CABROL, *Dictionaire*); K. WESSEL, *Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel*, in: Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Bd. III, Stuttgart 1972, col. 15-114; J. DANIÉLOU, *Les anges et leur mission d'après les Pères d'Église*, Chevetogne 1957; N. P. KONDAKOV, *Očerki i zametki po istoriji srednevekogo iskusstva i kul'tur*, Prague 1929, pp. 96-101. The study by B. MARTIN-HASARD, *Le culte de l'archange Michael dans l'Empire byzantin (VIII^e-XI^e siècles)*, in: Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda Antichità e Medioevo, ed. C. Carletti and G. Otranto, Bari 1994, was unfortunately not available to me. C. MANGO, *St. Michael and Attis*, DChAE 12 (1984-86) 39-62 [hereafter, MANGO, *St. Michael*]; K. LÜBECK, *Zur ältesten Verehrung des heil. Michael in Konstantinopel*. Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft 26 (1905) 773-785; P. CANIVET, *Le Michaelion de Húarte*, Byzantion 50 (1980) 85-117.

[20] R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, 3, *Les eglises et monastères*, 2 ed., Paris 1969, pp. 337, 339.

[21] *Sozomenus, Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. BIDEZ, G. C. HANSEN, Berlin 1960, II, 3. Cf. also *Theophanes, Chronographia*, ed. C. de BOOR, Teubner 1883-85, I, 23. 30 sq.; *Leo Grammaticus, Chronographia*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1842, 89. 5; *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*, ed. Th. PREGER, Leipzig 1901, fasc. I, 18 (hereafter, PREGER, *Scriptores*).

[22] R. JANIN, *Les sanctuaires byzantins de Saint Michel*, Echos d'Orient 28 (1934) 28-52.

[23] A. KAZHDAN – N. P. ŠEVČENKO, *Michael*, in: The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. Kazhdan, New York – Oxford 1991, II, 1360 (hereafter, ODB).

[24] *Pantoleonis, Encomium in maximum et glorissimum Michaelem coelestis militiæ principem*, PG 98, col. 1266B.

Archangel Michael with a raised sword in the pronaos of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[25] For the first time the Archangel was featured on the coins of Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195).[26] He was usually represented with a labarum, scepter or scales, in his right hand and a globe in his left hand. [27] The Church deemed him Christ's invisible vicar on earth and a prominent champion of Christian faith. His cult was especially strong in the mid-13th century under Michael VIII Palaiologos, whose patron-saint was the Archangel. [28]

The sculptural composition on the column of Michael VIII was one of the few examples in monumental art with an "offering of the city" motive, i.e. a pleading for intercession on the part of the celestial patron in favour of the founded/conquested city. Probably it followed the scheme of the mosaic in the southern vestibule of Hagia Sophia, showing Virgin Mary enthroned with the Christ child in her arm (9th or 10th cc.). On her left stood Constantine the Great, offering her the city (Constantinople), and on the right was Justinian I with the church in his hand. [29] The image of the Emperor was connected directly with his function of the refounder of Constantinople. Therefore, it is quite natural for Michael VIII (as a refounder of the Byzantine capital) to underscore the link between himself and the city's founder. The Latin occupation had left to the winner a city in decline, a faded image of its former glory, strongly depopulated. The Emperor faced the problem of cleaning out and rebuilding the city, making it once more a functional capital. He built and renovated many public buildings, churches, monasteries, theatres, bath houses, hospitals and many other facilities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the wide scale of the restoration activities raised him in the eyes of his contemporaries as a second founder of the city, a "New Constantine". [30] According to Pachymeres, Patriarch Germanos III was the first to call the Emperor with that name. [31] The orators (e.g., Gregory of Cyprus) also called Michael VIII Palaiologos the "New Constantine", [32] while he himself gave the name Constantine to his

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[25] *Choniates,* ed. VAN DIETEN, 238. 79-81; cf. F. DÖLGER, *Justinians Engel an der Kaisertür der Hagia Sophia,* Byzantion 10 (1935) 1-4; L. MIRKOVIĆ, *Mozaik iznad carskih vrata u narteksu crkve Svete Sofie u Carigradu,* in: Ikonografske studije, Novi Sad 1974, pp. 191-205 (hereafter, MIRKOVIĆ, Ikon. Studije).

[26] M. HENDY, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261,* Washington 1969, p. 437.

[27] On the iconography of Michael, see: CABROL, *Dictionaire,* col. 2144-2150; P. PERDRIZET, *L'archange Ouriel,* in: Seminarium Kondakovianum, II, Prague 1928, pp. 241-276; L. RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien.* t. II. *Iconographie de la Bible,* 1. *Ancien Testament,* Paris 1956, pp. 30-55, esp. 44-51; G. I. VZDORNOV, *ΣΥΝΑΞΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ,* VizVrem 32 (1971) 157-184.

[28] The best general study on Michael VIII's reign is D. GEANAKOPLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West. 1258-1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relation,* Cambridge, Mass., 1959 (hereafter, GEANAKOPLOS, *Michael Pal.*); see also, C. CHAPMAN, *Michel Paléologue, restaurateur de l'Empire byzantin (1261-1282),* Paris 1926; Alice-Mary TALBOT, *Michael VIII Palaiologos,* in: ODB, II, 1367.

[29] On a coin Michael VIII is represented holding a model of the city; cf. P. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins,* London 1982, 302, # C14.

[30] According to A. GRABAR, *L'empereur,* p. 111, with this sculptural group "Michel Paléologue exprimât plastiquement l'appelation de 'nouveau Constantine'". For a survey of all sources mentioning the epithet "New Constantine" see R. MACRIDES, *The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?,* BMGS 6 (1980) 23, note 55 (hereafter, MACRIDES, *The New Constantine*). For the epithet before 1261, see *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries,* ed. by P. MAGDALINO, Variorum Reprint, London 1994.

[31] *Georges Pachymeres, Relations historiques,* ed. A. FAILLER with French tr. by V. Laurent, Paris 1984, II. 391. 5-12 (hereafter, *Pachymeres*).

[32] *Laudatio Michaelis Palaeologi,* PG 142, col. 345, 384D.

third son, who was born after his triumphal entry into Constantinople. [33] The *peplos* commissioned by Patriarch Germanos III in 1265-1266 and hung between two porphyry columns at the west end of Hagia Sophia probably visualised that epithet. [34] Apparently not only an analogy with Constantine the Great was sought, but an emphasis on the continuity of power and the State.

The problem of continuity should be regarded from a culturological viewpoint, i.e. in terms of an ideological concept. Another important element of such continuity was the placing of the column. It was not erected at random, but close to the Church of the Holy Apostles, which housed the tombs of the most of the Byzantine emperors, who reigned before 1028. [35] Thus the link with imperial tradition before 1204 was purposefully emphasised, as well as the bond between "the Old" (the Great) and "the New" Constantine, and the return of the Empire in exile to Constantinople was proclaimed. The Archangel not only became the onomastic patron of the Emperor, who defended his ambitions for power before the universal Heavenly Lord, but also a symbol of military power and a patron of rising Byzance, threatened by internal and external foes.

Besides everything said so far, the erection of the column and the presence of the Archangel in its sculptural group came to show a quest for continuity, a search of the roots so as to verify the legitimacy of the deed, to confirm its duly legitimate place in the political ideology and cultural space. Every usurpation unavoidably raises this problem and every usurper must legitimise his position or perish. Thus the usurper Michael Palaiologos (he usurped the throne in 1258), must have been deeply concerned about the legitimacy of his rule and the establishing of an imperial dynasty. The later have seen from the fact that very shortly after his coronation in Hagia Sophia Michael sought to found a dynasty by crowning his little son Andronikos as co-emperor. The Patriarch and particularly the population of Asia Minor, where Laskarids and the deposed legitimate emperor John IV Laskaris were well known condemned the usurper. Whereas the Constantinopolitans did not know the Laskarids, they accepted Michael as their saviour. Alas, everything was in the hands of Providence, and in that case it was on his side. Although a descendant of three imperial families, he needed a patron and the leader of the Heavenly Host seemed to be the "most suitable" one. Michael Palaiologos was thought to have won the Pelagonia battle (summer 1259) with the benefaction of Archangel Michael and thus to have ensured the refounding of the Empire. "... But it was in Thy hands to do it, oh Lord Almighty, it was in Thy hands to raise me to eminence; and I found myself a head above the rest, exhorted by them, not by myself, impelled by them and not coercing anybody", wrote Michael in his autobiography. [36] Thus the bronze composition was a symbol of the power of Providence and permanent commemoration that the Emperor was chosen and made victorious by it. In spite of this, in the composition "the Worthiest One" prays to the Archangel to forgive him for his sins (the usurpation) and to grant him the right to enjoy everlasting life in return for his gift (the recovery of Constantinople).

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[33] *Pachymeres*, I. 247. 16-17.

[34] *Pachymeres*, Bonn ed., II, 614. 9-15; MACRIDES, *The New Constantine*, 22.

[35] After this date the Emperors were normally buried in various churches which they had founded cf. P. GRIERSON, *The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)*, with an additional note by C. MANGO and I. ŠEVČENKO, DOP 16 (1962) 29.

[36] H. GRÉGOIRE, *Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi De Vita sua*, Byzantion 19/20 (1959-60) 456.

With the passing decades, however, identification of the two figures on top of the column was rather mixed up. An anonymous Armenian pilgrim claimed that the Archangel was Gabriel and called the emperor Constantine. Both Buondelmonti and Zosima the Deacon made the same mistake about the identity of the Emperor. Poor knowledge of local history, strong tradition to connect everything with Constantine the Great, or probably the comparison of Michael VIII Palaiologos with him, could explain such replacements. Explanation could be also sought in the controversy of the Emperor with the Church, which incited the Orthodox Christians against their "saviour" and refounder. The Emperor died hated by his subjects and was buried at night, quietly, without dug covered over with a mound of earth, to protect it from wild animals and without any witnesses and the customary funeral rites of the Orthodox Church. [37] Such was the form of burial prescribed for heretics and apostates. Michael's body was never removed for burial in Constantinople. Even his son Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328) did not dare to transfer later the mortal remains of his father to the capital; though some months later they were placed in a coffin and moved in the monastery of Christ the Saviour near Selymbria. [38] The Orthodox Church never forgave Michael VIII. The bishop of Selymbria Philotheos (14th c.) comments that the emperor's body lay bloated because of the excommunication which the Patriarch Arsenios had pronounced against him. [39] It was popularly believed that the flesh of the Emperor's corpse had refused to rot away, which was a sure sign that he had died in heresy. [40] Thus the original meaning of the monument was partially forgotten. The name of Michael VIII in the memory of the people was "replaced" by that of Constantine, founder and "father" of the city, but also an Orthodox Christian Emperor. The idea of the Archangel as a champion against the adversaries of the Christian (Orthodox) faith and, hence, the impossibility for an emperor-*latinophron* to seek his interceding could be added to this line of thinking. [41]

It would be equally interesting to trace out how the memorial acquired another important function.

There was a custom in Roman imperial cities to erect a statue of a tutelary Fortune, the protector of the newly built towns. Such statue was erected and ceremonially consecrated in Constantinople. [42] Hence, the assumption that by this gesture of Constantine the city was dedicated to Roman Fortune (τύχη). [43] Leaving this aside, as well as the subsequent dedication of the new capital to Virgin Mary (an attempt to give a respectable Christian origin to the City), G. DAGRON comes to the conclusion that Constantine and his name fixed the location place of the new city and also that Constantinople was dedicated to Constantine. [44]

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37 *Gregoras,* Bonn ed., I, 150-55; Cf. GEANAKOPLOS, *Michael Pal.,* 370 n. 13.

38 *Pachymeres,* Bonn ed., II, 107-8.

39 P. MAGDALINO, *Byzantine Churches of Selymbria,* DOP 32 (1978) 348-9.

40 D. NICOL, *The Byzantine reaction to the Second Council of Lyons,* 1274, in: idem, *Byzantium: its ecclesiastical history and relations with the western world,* Variorum 1971, VI, 138 n 1.

41 GEANAKOPLOS, *Michael Pal.,* 272 and n. 64.

42 See, for example *Chron. Pasch.,* Bonn ed., I, 528; *Malalas,* Bonn ed., 322 - where a gilded wooden copy of the Forum statue of Constantine, holding a Tyche in its hand, was brought into the Hippodrome on a chariot and acclaimed; JANIN, *CP byz.*[2], 77-80; DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale,* 40-41.

43 J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Tyche von Konstantinopel,* in: Analecta graeciensia, Festschrift zum 42. Philologentage in Wien, Graz 1893, pp. 151-2.

44 DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale,* 42.

In other words, the ancient worship of the Tyche of the city was transferred to Constantine the Great. With the development of the cult of Virgin Mary in the second half of the 6th century, however, and after the real manifestation of her protection over the city, since 626 Constantinople was presumably under the protection of Virgin Mary. [45] After the Restoration of Images, the tradition of dedication to the Holy Mother of God was resumed once more and thus she took entirely up the role of Constantine as a patron of the Empire and the City. [46] In the mind of the people, however, the meaning of the patron-statue of the city was still being focused chiefly on two monuments: the Constantine's porphyry column and Justinian's equestrian statue in the Augustaion.

In the porphyry column with the Emperor's statue on top, holding a globe with a cross in his left hand and a spear or a scepter in his right one, the inhabitants saw a symbol of the foundation and defence of the city against the "Barbarians", the *palladium* of the capital. [47] It was the scene of an annual service of remembrance. According to tradition, Constantine himself wanted his monument to serve as an object of protection, as a talisman of the city, and thus he secretly brought the palladium of Rome and buried it under the column as a symbol of fortune. [48] Subsequently Christianity interpreted in a different way everything connected with the name of Constantine, the first Christian emperor. This, however, did not change the main purpose of the monument, which survived throughout the existence of the Empire, but simply filled the "available" relics with Christian content and added up "Christian vestiges for consolidation and protection". [49]

The other monument, the equestrian statue of Justinian I, was a major highlight in the Middle Age and was often described in the accounts of the travellers. The Western visitors, who were not particularly familiar with the Early Byzantine history of the city, saw in it Constantine, [50] while the Russians, who were better informed, knew that this was

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[45] A. CAMERON, *The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople,* in: idem, *Continuity and Change in Sixth-century Byzantium,* Variorum Reprint, London 1981, pp. 105-108.

[46] A. KAZHDAN, *Constantine Imaginaire. Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great,* Byzantion 57 (1987) 248: "... an alteration was introduced in the story of the foundation of Constantinople - a new (and evidently Iconophile) tale emphasized that Constantine founded his city as one dedicated to the Virgin Mary". As C. MANGO points out the disappearance of the chapel of the Constantine at the foot of the column means namely that transferring of the functions, idem, *Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine,* in: idem, *Studies,* # IV, 103.-110.

[47] JANIN, *CP byz.*[2], 79. The statue of Constantine fell down in 1106 and Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) placed a cross at the summit of the column, nevertheless the inhabitants continued to call it "the column of Constantine"; cf. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale,* 37.

[48] *Malalas,* Bonn ed., 320; *Chron. Pasch.,* Bonn ed., I, 528; PREGER, *Scriptores,* I, 17.

[49] To them, the Church Slavonic translation of the Chronicle of George Hamartolos (belongs to the 13th century), added that: "... the twelve baskets, blessed by Christ, and the True Cross..." were buried at the base of the column - V. M. ISTRIN, *Chronika Georgija Amartola (Mnicha) v drevnem slavjanorusskom perevode,* Petrograd - Leningrad 1920-30, I, 339. Cf., also the Russian pilgrims: Stephen of Novgorod: "... and in column are the twelve baskets of morsels of bread; Noach's axe is here"; Anonymous Description of Constantinople: "Noach's axe and the twelve baskets of [bread] remnants are immured in this column"; Zosima the Deacon: "Twelve morsels of the bread [multiplied] by Christ, the axe with which Noach built the ark, and the stone from which Moses brought forth water are sealed in it", in: MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers,* 35, 145, 185. The nature of the palladia functions of the column is discussed in A. FROLOW, *La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine,* Revue de l'histoire religions 127 (1944) 61-85; J. EBERSOLT, *Les sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens tresors des eglises de Constantinople,* Paris 1921, p. 73.

[50] For exemple, de la Brocquiere (1432-33): "... and bearing on the summit an equestrian statue of

Justinian. [51] The great influence of the statue in later times is seen, for instance, from the fact that on some Russian icons not only the Hagia Sophia but also the column is shown. [52] The interpretation of the statue's gesture varied greatly, but all travellers, both Christians and Muslims, were equally convinced that this was a talisman on which the protection of the city depended. [53]

Archangel Michael was also regarded as a protector of the city. In the following brief survey I shall attempt to present several examples, without going into great detail. The earliest mention of this is encountered in Philostorgios (368-433), [54] followed by other Byzantine authors, [55] according to whom Constantine the Great, guided by an angel invisible to the ot-hers, traced with his spear the perimeter of the future city. Later on, in a work by an anonymous Greek writer (ca. second half of the 9th c.), relating about the construction of Hagia Sophia, the Archangel was quoted as permanent guardian of the temple. [56] In the 9th century a cycle of *Miracles* attributed to Michael appeared in narration of Pantoleon the Deacon. In his *vita* of Michael, Pantoleon related three miracles devoted to the miraculous intervention of Michael to save the city from invaders. [57] According to them the

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Constantine, in bronze" in *The Travel of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere,* in: *Early travels in Palestine,* ed. with notes by Th. WRIGHT, London 1848, p. 339.

[51] For example, Stephen of Novgorod (1348-9), Anonymous Description of Constantinople (1390's) and Zosima the Deacon (1419-1422) in MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers,* 29, 135, 185; Cf. also Aphanasij Nikitin (15th c.), who had never visited Constantinople, but knew that this was "... Justinian the emperor of Tsargrad" in *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей,* St. Petersburg 1853, VI. *Софийская летопис,* p. 336.

[52] Cf. MANGO, *Art,* 57; See also O. A. BELOBROVA, *Statua vizantijskogo imperatora Justiniana v drevnerusskich pismenych istočnikach i ikonografii,* VizVrem 17 (1960) 114-123.

[53] A most detailed explanation is given by *Prokopios of Caesarea; De aedificiis*, ed. J. HAURY, Leipzig 1964, pp. 17-18.

[54] *Ecclesiasticae historiae,* PG 65, col. 472.

[55] See D. LATHOUD, *La consécration et la dédicace de Constantinople,* Echos d'Orient 24 (1925) 294-5; E. FOLLIERI, *La fondazione di Costantinopoli: riti pagani e cristiani,* in: Da Roma alla terza Roma, I, Roma-Neapoli 1981, pp. 221-2.

[56] *Διήγησις περὶ της ἁγίας Σοφιας,* in: PREGER, *Scriptores,* I, pp. 74-108; G. DAGRON, *Constantinople Imaginaire, études sur le recueil des "Patria",* Paris 1986, pp. 192-6, 268-9 (date). On the Russian version, see: R. MARICHAL, *La construction de Sainte Sophie de Constantinople dans l'Anonyme grec (X^e siècle?) et les versions vieux-russes,* ByzSlav (1960) 238-259; MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers,* 203, n. 19 and 21. It is possible that they came to Russia by way of a south Slavic translation.

[57] See the Church Slavonic translation of Michael's miracles in Metropolitan Macarius' 16th century collection of religious writings, the *Great Lection Menology = Макариевским Великия Минеи Четии: Ноябрь, день 8,* St. Petersburg 1897, col. 271-272: "About the unbelievers Avars", "About the Persians" and "About the unbelievers Agarjane". The Greek text of the Pantoleon's work is preserved in a great number of manuscripts. Unfortunately, a detailed investigation and publication of all manuscripts are still a *desideratum.* For various manuscripts see Fr. HALKIN, *Inédits Byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscow,* Brussels 1963, p. 147: six in Paris and fourteen in the Vatican, not to mention other libraries; MANGO, *St. Michael,* 47-48 adds that Pantoleon's work was also known to Damaskenos Stoudites, who paraphrased parts of it in modern Greek. There should be also mentioned an unpublished MS from Moscow (*Cod. Graec. Bibl. Synod. Mosquensis n.* CLXXI) [now in the State Historical Museum] of the 12th century, containing the same miracles representing the Archangel as saviour of the city; see Archimandrite Savva, *Ukazatel' dlja obozrenija Moskovskoj Patriaršej (n'ne Sinodal'noj) Biblioteki,* Moscow 1855, p. 119 and E. KUHN, *Zur byzantinischen Erzählungslitteratur,* BZ 9 (1900) 386-7. An uncompleted Latin translation of Michael's miracles (after *Codex Nanianus* n. 308) can to be found in MIGNE, PG 140, col. 573C-588B.

Archangel put the Avars and the Persians to flight and the siege failed. It is noteworthy that in this case the Virgin acts through the hands of the Archangel. It was the Michael who submerged the Agarjan's fleet (*Hagarenoi* = the Arabs) and again saved the city. Thus he appears as saviour of Constantinople and adopts the significance of Virgin Mary as a patron of the capital. Also interesting for our enquiry are the popular tales picked up by Russian pilgrims at Constantinople, in particular by the Anonymous pilgrim (the 1390's). In his narration, which repeats the story of the building of Hagia Sophia, the Archangel's protection had extended onto the city. [58] Similarly, Pero Tafur (1437-1438) wrote that the inhabitants of Constantinople believed their city unconquerable, bbecause an angel on a horseback protec-ted and guarded it walls. [59] Finally, on one hand, Nestor Iskander, a Russian chronicler of the fall of Constantinople to Turks, noted that the "angel of God", who had guarded the Great Church from the time of Justinian quitting the church and the city and portending their doom. [60] On the other, Dukas maintained that when the Turks would enter the city, an angel would descend from the heaven and would hand a sword to "an unknown man, extremely poor, standing at the foot of the column" (this time Constantine's porphyry column), and the foe would be routed. [61]

Let us now return to our column. Most authors have an eye for this column and the statues on top. Zosima the Deacon is the only author who mentions a significant element intrinsic to the Tyche of the city (as we have already mentioned, Constantine). The Russian pilgrim tells us that the Angel holds *"the scepter of Constantinople"*. That scepter (it was quite possible that the Archangel held a s p e a r) testifies that the column partially symbolised the worship of the Tyche of the city. [62] A recollection of the description of Constantine's statue by Anna Komnene rises to the question whether the Archangel was not a replica of that statue. [63] In terms of iconography, the heavenly protector rather strongly reminds of the image of Constantine, although the latter was often rendered with s p e a r in hand, with which he outlined the boundaries of the new city. [64] One could reasonably object that a century and a half (after 1106) was a sufficient time for the image of Constantine's statue to fade away and even to be forgotten. But the very fact that the erection of that column with

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[58] As MAJESKA points out, the original source of the Anonymous Description of Constantinople was a late fourteenth-century Greek guide book to the sights of Constantinople translated into Russian, in: idem, *Russian Travelers*, 119; 131: "... and St. Michael would be the guardian of the Temple of St. Sophia and of Constantinople until the second coming". The editor of the "Dialogue" version of the Russian Anonymous added to the original text: "Truly, my lord Emperor, this is a divine city, and its protector is the great leader of the (heavenly) host Michael until the second coming of Christ" and "... I wish and pray to God and to the holy Archangel Michael to account me worthy to end my life there among these holy places...", in: idem, *Russian Travelers*, Commentary § 1, 201. On the date, see C. MANGO, *The Date of the Anonymous Russian Description of Constantinople*, BZ 45 (1952) 380-85.

[59] J. P. A. VAN DER VIN, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople: Ancient monuments and Old Traditions in medieval Travellers's Tales*, vol. 1, Istanbul 1980, p. 702: "... I promise' you that I will guard the church and the city until you return".

[60] *Povest o Cargrade Nestora Iskandera*, ed. Archimandrite Leonid, (= Pamjatniki Drevnej Christianskoj Pis'menosti, 62) St. Petersburg 1886, p. 24.

[61] *Ducas, Istoria turco-bizantina <1341-1462>*, ed. crit. de V. GRECU, Bucureşti 1958, XXXIX, 365. 3-12.

[62] A. I. KIRPIČNIKOV, *Čudesnuja statui v Konstantinopole*, Letopis istoriko.-filologičeskago obščestva pri Imperatorskom Novorossijskom Universitete, IV Vizant. otd., II, Odessa 1894, p. 35.

[63] *Anna Komnena, Alexiad*, éd. B. LEIB (with P. GAUTIER), Paris 1937-45, III, 66.

[64] For the spear (λόγχη), see *Kedrenus, Historiarum Compendium*, PG 121, col. 716B.

a statue on top had restored a tradition of earlier centuries supports the idea of a lasting memory awakened in time of neeed: the moment comes when the Tyche, favouring the usurper, "gave him back" the city of Constantinople. Facing the problem of refoundation of the city and especially the establishment and consolidation of his own legitimacy, Michael Palaiologos "tapped" that memory, chiefly the deeds of Constantine connected with the foundation of the new capital. In other words, the erection of the column was to mark the new "location" of the city (already drawn out to the north-west), as well as the continuity consolidating the legitimacy of the "new" founder. Thus, the "new" empire would start with another Constantine "in" the image of Michael above the new *foyer*. This could also explain the change of the names, not so much related to the kneeling Emperor as to the heavenly patron. Was there really such a scepter, [65] or was this simply wishful thinking on the part of the people, who after having lost many of their old "talismans" [66] were seeking new hope and protection in that monument?

Although several conclusions of this presentation are extremely hypothetical and questionable, I hope to have demonstrated once more that with his actions the "New Constantine" had followed closely in the steps of the "Old" one. After the Latin bondage the "new" city needed a new consecration and new protection and it got them in that column and the sculptures on top of it. In other words, the monument focused on two major functions: on the one hand, it carried the lasting memory of the successful recovery, of the new beginning, while on the other, it was the new *foyer,* the new *palladium* to take its place among the other "talismans" in *Constantinople imaginaire*, and to be called by its inhabitants simply "the column with the Angel".

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[65] I rather tend to support its existence considering the marble panel of the Archangel Michael, originally in the Church of the Theotokos Peribleptos (Sulu Manastir) in Psamatia, dating from the second quarter of the 13th c., now in Berlin. This church had been repaired by Michael VIII shortly after 1261. See A. Effenberger - H. G. Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst,* Staatliches Museum zu Berlin 1992, p 246 (fig. 147), 247.

[66] *Choniates,* 643. 11-15.